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SUMMARY

Typically great publicity is accorded the October Anniversary and Beria's speech. The regional output in the week preceding the anniversary day--and to a large extent in the week following it--is devoted almost exclusively to the celebrations, slogans, speeches, etc. Shortcomings in every phase of Soviet economic and political life, usually highlighted in editorial and other comment, are played down or omitted entirely. Much of the radio time is given to a review of achievements on the economic front. Most of the production figures quoted, and a great deal of the phraseology used, are verbatim repeats from Beria's Anniversary speech. The ideology theme is omitted from most of the regional broadcasts but a strong reminder that this subject is both topical and urgent comes from a couple of sources including Kazakh SSR. A broadcast from Kiev describing the Anniversary demonstrations refers to the close friendship of the Ukrainian and Russian peoples with the familiar allusion to the preferred status of the latter.

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**CONFIDENTIAL****KAZAKHSTAN: ECONOMIC ACHIEVEMENTS AND IDEOLOGICAL FAILINGS**

Broadcasts from Kazakh SSR on the whole are no less exuberant and optimistic about the Republic's economic and cultural achievements than are the other sources within the USSR. Agriculture, according to KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA (2 November), has made excellent progress since 1940, and even the livestock industry has surpassed its "prewar totals." Culturally, the Republic is said to have reached a new peak of development since 1940. The number of scientific research institutes has been doubled and the number of scientific workers trebled. There is no indication, however, of the cultural situation in the Republic before the war.

The same editorial admits unspecified industrial shortcomings in Karaganda and East Kazakhstan oblasts, and calls on the Party organizations to eliminate them. Referring to ideological work, the paper urges "a sharp improvement" (rezkoye uluchshenie) and the elimination of "serious shortcomings and perversions of a nationalistic character" in history, literature and art. This, the editorial reminds its readers, is of particular urgency now in view of the forthcoming Congress of the Kazakh Communist Party set for 15 December.

A report from Alma Ata (6 November) makes passing reference to the "many enterprises" in the Republic which are still failing in their assigned tasks, but does not elaborate the point. This is mentioned in the context of shortcomings of an ideological character which, according to the report, still exist within the Party itself:

... Party organizations still have serious bourgeois shortcomings which must be eliminated. Bourgeois nationalistic tendencies must be eradicated and all ideological distortions must go!

The ideological aspect of the Kazakh republican press is scrutinized by KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA on 11 November. The newspapers are urged to exercise greater vigilance in matters of Communist literature, art and science and to fight against all "manifestations of bourgeois ideology, nationalism and cosmopolitanism." The Kazakh press as a whole, says the paper, "failed to command the situation" (ne okazalis na vysote polozhenia) when faced with the necessity of exposing serious mistakes and distortions in Kazakh literature. Although this fact was revealed at the recent session of the Central Committee of the Kazakh Communist Party, nothing much seems to have been done about it, according to the editorial. Among the papers said to be "losing sight" (vypuskayut iz vidu) of these requirements are SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA KARAGANDA, BOLSHEVITSKY (ZHOL) and SOVIETCHIK KARAGANDY. Two other papers--PRIKASPIYSKAYA KOMUNA and BOLSHEVISTSKY PUT--have, as the editorial puts it, exhausted their sources of creativeness, and are failing to develop criticism and self-criticism. One of the greatest sins of the Kazakh press, as inferred from KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA, is its attitude toward the collective farm system which apparently does not get sufficient plugging on its pages. "The kolkhoz system should be given prominence, so that the conditions of the agricultural community may be shown to the best advantage."

**FALTERING IDEOLOGY IN WESTERN UKRAINE**

PRIDUNAISKAYA PRAVDA (14 November) discusses the approaching elections to the primary Party organizations, and warns the Izmail oblast communists against the low ideological level among the rank-and-file members. What these cadres need, the paper hints, is a better understanding of the Lenin-Stalin friendship of peoples (druzhiba narodov), Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism. These precepts are particularly stressed in view of the paper's allusion to a Ukrainian nationalist sentiment in the oblast. One of the prerequisites for the friendship and patriotism, the editorial declares, is "the unmasking of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist agents of Anglo-American imperialism, the greatest enemies of the Ukrainian people." PRIDUNAISKAYA PRAVDA does not explicitly treat the oblast's economic failings as an outcome of its ideological weakness, but such connection is implied in the assertion that every facet of Soviet life is, in the final analysis, subject to Party supervision and jurisdiction, and that this point should be borne in mind at the coming elections. It is the duty of the Party

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electorate to see that the "right" people are elected if proper supervision of the oblast's ideological activities is to be maintained, the paper says. But the best people can be elected only if "inter-party democracy" (mezhdupartiynaya demokratia) is observed, as prescribed by the Central Committee of the All-Union Party:

The rayon and town Party Committee representatives must take care that there are no inter-party democracy violations ... no deviations from the All-Union Communist Party rules ... on the conduct of elections to the leading Party organs.

The Ukrainians' Best Friend: The oft-repeated assertion of Great Russian primacy vis-a-vis the Ukrainians is significantly reemphasized to the Ukrainian radio audience, probably the largest of the year, on October Anniversary day. In a special broadcast from Kiev (in Ukrainian, 7 November) carrying Gen. Grechko's Anniversary speech and describing the city demonstration, the announcer recited poetry about the greatest friend of the Ukrainian people, the Great Russians. This recital was followed up by familiar prosaic references to the debt of gratitude owed by the Ukrainians to the Communist Party and their "elder brother," the Russians, who 34 years ago first raised the standard of proletarian revolution and "led all the peoples" of Czarist Russia to a new life. The services rendered to the Ukrainians by their Great Russian mentors should be all the more appreciated, according to the announcer, since the latter helped them put their own affairs in order, and were also the first to meet the common external danger:

It was the Great Russian people who helped the Ukrainian people to destroy their hateful enemies, the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists, the greatest enemies of the Ukrainian people. It was the Great Russian people who first took to the field of battle against the German fascist invaders.

Ukrainian version:

Tse velyki Rosiyski narod shcho pomih ukrainskomu narodu rozhromyt nenavystnykh vorohiv, triche-prozrennykh ukrainskikh burzhnaznykh natsionalystiv, naylyutyishkikh vorohiv ukrainskoho narodu. Tse vin, velyki Rosiyski narod buv pershy na polu boyu protyv nemetsko-fashystskikh zaharbnikiv.

**STALIN'S NATIONALITY POLICY**

In a talk for the home audience, Professor Grishin reviews the circumstances that led to the formulation of the present Soviet nationality policy (5 November). This "constellation of nationalities," he says, was achieved on a truly voluntary principle based on equality of rights, as embodied in the Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia (Deklaratsia Prav Narodov Rossii). The voluntary feature of the unification, however, is conspicuously omitted from the further discussion of this topic, particularly from Stalin's "The October Revolution and the National Policy of the Russian Communists," as quoted by Grishin. The unification of the peripheral nationalities--the Baltic states, Finland and Poland--under the protective wing of Great Russia, Stalin is quoted as having said, was dictated by mutual economic and military considerations. The outlying areas occupied by the 65 million non-Russians were rich in natural resources but militarily vulnerable. The reverse was true of Great Russia. Located in the heartland, she needed the mentioned resources to maintain her military might. "These circumstances," according to Stalin, "determined the character of the national policy of the Russian Communists." (Eti obstoyatelstva ... opredelili kharakter natsionalnoi politiki russkikh komunistov)

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## PARTY ACTIVITIES

Political Self-Education; Formalism, Lack of Self-Criticism: Regional transmissions for Party audiences are focusing attention on the new academic year in the Communist education network which admittedly is getting off to a slow start. The situation is particularly alarming in Rostov oblast where, according to MOLOT (15 November), the first lessons at the Party-political schools were "a complete failure" (polniy proval) in some places. The paper questions the qualifications of the lecturers and propagandists whose work of enlightening Party members is "of too low an ideological-theoretical level." These instructors are said to be asking their students to memorize numerous odd bits of information and figures without reference to the problems on hand. No wonder, concludes the paper, that in some places, notably in Milyutinsky rayon, the number of independent students of Marxism-Leninism has decreased.

STALINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA (2 November) refers in disparaging terms to the tendency in a number of Party schools "to enroll as many Communists as possible" without regard to their political qualifications, often making them study the same program for years. It is very evident, says the paper, that such a formalistic attitude hampers rather than promotes the (dialectical) development of the communists: "Political self-education does not tolerate formalism." The same paper (14 November) points to the much-neglected practice of criticism and self-criticism within the oblast Party organizations referring to it as "the chief mistake" (glavnaya oshibka) of the oblast Party Committee. The selection of cadres, the checking of Party decisions and the encouragement of criticism and self-criticism, the paper complains, leave much to be desired. Taking their cue from the oblast, the rayon Party Committees are said to have relaxed their control over the activities, working only according to general instructions. The result, says the paper, is a complete lack of initiative.

The Moldavian audience is told by Tkach, Secretary of the Moldavian Central Committee, that "the negligence ... toward political education must be completely eradicated." (in Moldavian, 15 November) The Secretary calls attention to the "basic task" that demands prompt solution, namely, a higher ideological level of political education. In some places, he asserts, such a solution is not even in the offing. What is actually observable--as in Bulboaka rayon, for example--is the "damaging practice of hindering the propagandists in the fulfillment of their direct tasks."

PRAVDA (14 November) redefines the duties of the communist lecturers and cautions them against branching out into such unrelated fields as natural science, agriculture and literature. Party-sponsored lectures, according to the paper, are to be confined to "explaining" the great force of the Soviet regime and the victorious ideas of Marxism-Leninism. Anything not directly connected with this, such as the subjects mentioned above, comes within the competence of the Society for the Dissemination of Scientific and Political Knowledge. Another fault common among communist lecturers, according to the paper, is their "dogmatism and uncritical approach" to the theory of Marxism-Leninism which should be explained "in the light of the newest achievements of science." Serious mistakes in the presentation of theoretical questions are imputed to the lecture groups of the Kurgansk and Tambov oblast committees where "not enough attention" (nedostatochno vnimania) is paid to the quality of the lectures.

## SHORTCOMINGS

Agriculture: Discussion of agricultural shortcomings as mentioned at the outset is held down to a minimum, and in most cases it is replaced by a review of successes in the form of the familiar collective farm letters to Stalin. Available comment stresses the inadequacy of farm building, poor utilization of agricultural machinery and the violation of the kolkhoz undivided funds (nedelimie fondy). RADYANSKE PODILYE (1 November) carries a report on the 5th session of the Kamenets-Podolsk oblast Soviet which is said to have revealed a variety of serious agricultural shortcomings

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in the oblast. The most serious of them all is "the failure to insure the proper utilization" of tractors and draft animals which in many instances resulted in poor crops. The average sugar-beet yield in the oblast is, according to the dispatch, lower than last year and amounts to 195 centners per hectare. Only three rayons--Volochnitsky, Chemerovetsky and Orininsky--have produced what the paper calls a good average yield of sugar-beets, 300 centners per hectare. The livestock industry is also reported to be in poor shape while fodder preparations are referred to as being "endangered" in a number of rayons. Among them are Likovetsky, Mikhailovsky, Staro-Ushitsky, Dunayevetsky and "certain others."

ORLOVSKAYA PRAVDA (2 November) lists 7 machine-tractor stations where tractor repairs have either not begun or were carried out poorly. Two other stations, Paladinskaya and Glazunovskaya, "have not repaired a single machine" but managed to spend all the sums allocated to them for repair work.

Comparatively mild complaints of agricultural shortcomings are heard also from the following areas:

Stalino: Only 75 cotton pickers have been working in the fields ... instead of the required 2,280 (2 November)

Poltava: Many kolkhozes are meeting winter unprepared for the wintering of their livestock ... and have brought about a situation in which the kolkhoz worker appointed to look after the livestock is helpless. (ZARYA POLTAVSHCHINA, 13 November)

Zhitomir: Seven rayons are subjected to severe criticism for inefficient utilization of machinery and thereby delaying the processing of flax. (RADYANSKA ZHITOMIRSHCHINA, 13 November)

Undivided Funds: The violation of the Agricultural Artel Charter provision for undivided and other communal funds (nedelimiye i drugie obshchestvennye fondy), seldom reported on the radio, is discussed in a PRAVDA editorial of 13 November. These funds are at the disposal of the collective farm management but are also subject to local Party control. They cannot be used by one without the knowledge of the other. It is this dualism of control which prompted PRAVDA's assertion that abuses of the undivided funds by collective farms are perpetrated "with the connivance" (pri popustitelstve) of the appropriate Party organizations. A case in point is Tomsk oblast where an unspecified number of collective farms are said to have contributed "considerably less" in 1950 to the undivided funds than required by the Agricultural Artel Charter.\* Tomsk oblast, the editorial adds, is not the only place where such malpractices have been noted. Similar Charter violations are reported also from Vologda, Gorky, Vladimir and Kaluga oblasts as well as a number of other unnamed areas.

STALINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA (14 November) echoes PRAVDA's indignation about the violation of "one of the basic articles" (odna iz osnovnykh statei) of the Agricultural Artel Charter, the undivided fund. Discussing the poor oblast agricultural situation in general--sheep breeding, cattle raising, fruit growing and irrigation--the paper refers to financial mismanagement as the cause of all trouble. The editorial does not imply that the undivided funds are not maintained at the required level but says that they are not used for their assigned purpose, the purchase of equipment and stock. (There is no mention, of course, of the way the mentioned funds are being utilized but the "serious violations" referred to in this connection are suggestive of illegal practices.)

\*According to the Agricultural Artel Charter, every grain collective farm is to keep an undivided fund equivalent to 12 to 15% of its gross annual earnings. The required fund in the case of stock and industrial crop farms is 15 to 20%.

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## INDUSTRY

High Production Costs, Irresponsibility: Broadcast reports on industrial shortcomings in the period under review are fragmentary. STALINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA (11 November), after repeating the familiar laudations of the oblast's achievements in honor of the 34th October Anniversary, bemoans the fact that many enterprises "still fail to campaign" for a reduction of their inordinately high production costs. Mentioning only one such enterprise, the "Krasny Oktiabr" metal plant, the paper declares that its waste through rejected materials amounts to "many millions of rubles." Inept utilization of equipment is given as the reason for the high production costs in this and in the other (unnamed) plants of the oblast.

KIROVOGRADSKAYA PRAVDA (15 November) says that although the oblast industry as a whole fulfilled its 10-month plans, 33% of the enterprises are still operating behind schedule. In some of them, particularly coal-mining enterprises, production costs are considerably higher than planned. The inadequate output and delivery of those industrial plants, according to the paper, is serious enough to be referred to as an "anti-State practice" which, incidentally, "has not yet ceased." The editorial also points out that at the Alexandriya Coal-Prospecting Trust and other enterprises "there is much irresponsibility among the directors, and inefficient utilization of equipment."

A vague reference to industrial shortcomings, in a different context, is made by PRIDUNAIKSKAYA PRAVDA (15 November). Some plants and factories, the paper asserts, "are not fulfilling the State plans and assignments." The appropriate Party organizations are urged to "raise the level" (povysit uroven) of their activities which, as the editorial puts it, are primarily responsible for the poor showing made by those plants.

The People's Courts: Zimin discusses the approaching elections of people's judges (narodnie zasedateli) and contrasts the "profoundly democratic" functions of the Soviet courts with the "venal" character of the U.S. judiciary system. (14 November) The chief present function of the People's Court, says he, is to "secure the strictest adherence to discipline" on the part of the workers. Its original purpose, according to Lenin, was to struggle against the defeated exploiters who "tried to revive their rule." A STAVROPOLSKAYA PRAVDA article by Judge Lavrentyev (13 November) is more definitive in its description of the court's functions:

One of the most important tasks of the Soviet court as a punitive organ is the most severe and relentless struggle against enemy agents (from) ... the United States, Britain and other bourgeois states ....

The death penalty, says Lavrentyev, has been abolished in the Soviet Union but is still applied in the case of spies and diversionists. Among the other evils listed as subject to court action are hooliganism (khuliganstvo) and cheating the consumer. (Hooliganism, as used in Russian terminology, ranges in definition from vandalism and petty thievery to assault and battery). These "manifestations of survivals of capitalism" are admitted to be strong enough to "slow the movement" toward Communism. That the Soviet consumer is on the receiving end of numerous illegal marketing practices is also evident from Lavrentyev's reference to the various "abuses in the field of Soviet (retail) trade." The People's Court, he says, is also called upon to combat such malpractices as "speculation, bribery ... false weighing and cheating of customers."

## A NOTE ON BERIA'S ANNIVERSARY SPEECH

Three of the four economic failings referred to by Beria epitomize the consistent radio and press campaign against these shortcomings since the beginning of the year. His attack on the industrial managers (khozyaistvenniki) for their narrow departmental approach to work (uzkovedomstvenny podkhod k delu) reflects the widely publicized drive against the repeated attempts of local officials to "protect" laggard industries. This is usually done, as the radio often reminds its listeners, by "hiding them behind the backs" (pryatat ikh z spinoi) of the

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more efficient enterprises whose above-plan performance is utilized to produce a good average figure for an entire area or industry. Tolerated in the past, this practice has been frowned upon by the Soviet Government since the withdrawal of state subsidies from industrial plants in the attempt to promote their operations on a self-sustaining basis (rentabelnost). Since plants are required to show a profit, any loss sustained by them is looked upon as a violation of State interests. Hence, Beria's reminder to the captains of industry that the interests of the State are above all (interes gosudarstva prevyshe vsego), and that State discipline must be strictly observed.

There is little direct reference in Beria's speech to the livestock industry, a subject of much disparaging comment on the regional transmitters. The latter attribute the major ills of that industry to the lack of fodder, and Beria's inferential treatment of the subject is obviously an implicit reiteration of the regional complaint: "The expansion of the fodder base continues to remain the most important problem in the matter of stockbreeding."

Another shortcoming admitted by Beria is the inadequate utilization of technical facilities and the high production costs which, incidentally, are attributed to poor labor organization and overhead expenditures (nakladnie raskhody). The inept utilization of machinery is said to be prevalent in construction where, according to him, "much is yet to be done" (mnogoye predstoit eshche sdelat). There is no indication as to whether the type of construction involved is civilian or industrial.

The most significant explicit admission made by Beria is that the Soviet consumer is still at the bottom of the Soviet pyramid despite the alleged increase in the turnover of consumer goods since last year. Here again the reference is inferential, the criticism being directed against the "numerous shortcomings" of the retail trade organizations (torguyushchie organizatsii). Not only is the average consumer understood to be inadequately supplied but the demands of the population as a whole are still a matter of superficial study (vse eshche slabo izuchayetsia spros naselenia). Goods, says Beria, are not always skillfully utilized, and errors are committed "by glutting" (v zavoze) various oblasts and republics with certain types of merchandise.

#### SHIP ACCIDENTS

A transmission from Odessa (31 October) to captains of all Russian ships at sea reminds them that "in the last ten days alone there were six accidents among ships of the shipping concern." Three of the six ships ran aground which attests to the "drop in work discipline, the ignoring of the demands of the regulations, the poor standards which the captains set themselves and their subordinates, and the delay in the promotion of officers, seamen and pilots."

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